

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/S-O:P.JOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 124726 TOSEC 020090

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO KUALA LUMPUR FROM JAKARTA

MAY 29

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 6451

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US ID

SUBJ: VISIT TO INDONESIA

1. DURING MY VISIT TO JAKARTA I HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO  
TALK WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO, FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK,  
TOP DEFENSE AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS, MINISTERS OF  
FINANCE, PLANNING AND JUSTICE, ETC. RECEPTION BY  
INDONESIANS WAS WARM AND THEY WERE EAGER TO DISCUSS THE  
SITUATION IN THE WAKE OF INDOCHINA.

2. IN GENERAL I FOUND KEY MILITARY LEADERSHIP HAS  
REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF POTENTIAL HANOI THREAT. INDONESIANS  
APPEAR TO HAVE VIRTUALLY WRITTEN OFF THAILAND, FEELING  
RTG IS WEAK AND THAI LACK SUFFICIENT COHESION, IDEOLOGY  
AND WILL TO STAND UP TO HANOI'S PRESSURE. THEY SEE  
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THAILAND AS GOING ALL OUT FOR ACCOMODATION WITH

HANOI. SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF GOI TOP LEVELS PERCEIVE MALAYSIA AS THE NEXT REAL BATTLEGROUND, AND THEY ARE WORRIED ABOUT HOW MALAYSIANS WILL HANDLE THE THREAT. THE COMMUNAL DIVISIONS WITHIN MALAYSIA, AS WELL AS WHAT SOME PERCEIVE AS A THREAT OF POSSIBLE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN EAST MALAYSIA, WORRY THE LEADERS HERE. THEY TALK, HOWEVER, ABOUT INDONESIA WILLINGNESS TO JOIN THE FRAY IN MALAYSIA--BUT NOT IN THAILAND.

3. THE INDONESIAN SEE ASEAN AS THEIR MAJOR HOPE FOR ESTABLISHING SOME SORT OF BALANCE TO COMMUNIST INDOCHINA, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ANXIOUS NOT TO MAKE IT APPEAR THAT ASEAN IS POSTURING ITSELF FOR CONFRONTATION WITH HANOI. AT THE RECENT KUALA LUMPUR ASEAN CONFERENCE THE INDONESIANS PRESENTED WHAT THEY DESCRIBED AS A BLUEPRINT FOR AN ASEAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. THE PRESENTATION, THEY CLAIM, WAS ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE BY THE OTHER PARTNERS. THE INDONESIAN INTEND NOW TO PRESS AHEAD WITH FLESHING OUT THE BLUEPRINT IN AREAS OF SECURITY AND DEFNESE COOPERATION WHICH MY BE FEASIBLE UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. INDONESIAN SEE THEMSELVES, APPARENTLY CORRECTLY, AS THE ACKNOWLEDGED "BIG BROTHER" LEADER OF THE ASEAN FIVE. THEY TALK BRAVELY ABOUT THE HOPES FOR ASEAN IN THE SECURITY FIELD, BUT ONE SENSES THAT DEVELOPMENT OF ASEAN STRENGTH SUFFICIENT TO DEAL WITH HANOI IS SOMETHING OF A MEAGER HOPE.

4. IN VIRTUALLY EVERY CONVERSATION WITH GOI OFFICIALS, I WAS PROVIDED A FULL DOSE OF INDONESIA'S CONCEPT OF "NATIONAL RESILIENCE." THE LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO DEVELOP INTERNAL STRENGTH TO CONFRONT POTENTIAL SUBVERSION, AND THEY ARE LIBERAL IN PROFERRING ADVICE IN THIS REGARD TO ASEAN COLLEAGUES.

5. ONE CANNOT QUESTION THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS APPROACH IN THE INDONESIAN PERCEPTION, BUT I AM NEVERTHELESS LEFT WITH A FEELING THEY DO NOT KNOW PRECISELY HOW TO GO ABOUT DEVELOPING THE INTERNAL STRENGTH NEEDED WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, MUCH LESS DEVELOPING A PRESCRIPTION FOR OTHERS IN THE AREA. THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, CORRUPTION, MALDISTRIBUTION, CONFIDENTIAL

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ETC, ARE WORRISOME IN A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SOCIETY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE WISELY PURSUED PATH OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SELF-DENIAL IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY HARDWARE, IN FAVOR OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, HAS LEFT THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES SIGNIFICANTLY SHORT OF MODERNIZED EQUIPMENT AND THE WHEREWITHALL TO UNDERTAKE ADEQUATE SURVEILLANCE OF THE SEA CORRIDORS AND MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE OUTER ISLANDS.

6. I SOUGHT FROM EACH OF THE OFFICIALS WITH WHOM I TALKED INDONESIAN VIEWS OF THE US ROLE IN THE CURRENT AND FORESEEABLE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE GENERAL RESPONSE INDICATED A STRONG DESIRE THAT THE US CONTINUE A PRESENCE IN THE ASEAN REGION, ALTHOUGH THE ACTUAL MILITARY BASE PRESENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIALLY MODIFIED OVER AN UNDEFINED PERIOD. OUR BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES SEEM TO BE RECOGNIZED AS RELEVANT IN THE IMMEDIATE CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF THE STATEMENTS BEING MADE BY THE PHILIPPINE LEADERSHIP. MOST TEND TO FEEL MARCOS WAS NOT COMPLETELY SERIOUS IN HIS RECENT STATEMENTS THREATENING A MAJOR CHANGE IN OUR BASE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PHILIPPINES, BUT ALL DUCKED WHEN OFFERED OPPORTUNITY TO STATE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR OUR RETENTION OF THE INSTALLATIONS.

7. IN GENERAL THE INDONESIANS WANT THE US TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF ASEAN, BUT QUIETLY, AND TO SERVE AS A SUPPLIER OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS A DETERRANT TO THE SOVIETS BY DEPLOYMENT OF THE SEVENTH FLEET.

8. THERE IS GENUINE UNCERTAINTY AS TO THE COURSE OF AMERICAN POLICY, GIVEN THE DIVISIONS THEY SEE BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES IN WASHINGTON. THEY WARMLY WELCOMED MY ASSURANCES OF CONSTANCY AND DETERMINATION IN US POLICY TOWARD EAST ASIA. INDONESIANS ARE LOOKING FOR EXAMPLES TO BUTTRESS THEIR HOPE THAT UNITY WILL EMERGE IN OUR POLICY, AND THAT WE WILL DEMONSTRATE CONTINUED US DETERMINATION TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THIS REGION. IN THIS REGARD, OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA AND THE PROVISION OF SOME  
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AUGMENTAL BUT NEVERTHELESS MODEST MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE IMPORTANT. I BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO ALLOCATE TO INDONESIA CERTAIN EXCESS EQUIPMENT EVACUATED FROM INDOCHINA, PARTICULARLY HELICOPTERS, C-130 AIRCRAFT AND APPROPRIATE PATROL VESSELS.

9. THE INDONESIANS ARE LOOKING FORWARD WITH GREAT EXPECTATION TO THE JULY 5 MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT SUHARTO. SUHARTO WILL COME LOOKING FOR REASSURANCE OF US INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA AND THE ASEAN NATIONS. HE WILL NOT HAVE A SPECIFIC SHOPPING LIST FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE, BUT THE SUBJECT WILL BE MUCH IN HIS MIND. IN THIS REGARD WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE, BECAUSE I BELIEVE INDONESIA CAN BE A GOOD AND USEFUL FRIEND IN

THIS AREA. NEWSOM  
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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